DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 588 UD 011 300

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TITLE The Development of Educational Planning in the Congo (K).
PUB DATE Oct 70
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, Mass., October 21-24, 1970

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Administrative Problems; African History; Colonialism; Educational Administration; Educational Development; *Educational History; *Educational Needs; Educational Objectives; *Educational Planning; *Educational Policy; Educational Problems; Educational Resources; Imperialism; Policy Formation
IDENTIFIERS *Democratic Republic of the Congo

ABSTRACT

The development of the Congo's present formal education system began shortly after Protestant missionaries first entered the region in 1878. A distinct imprint had not been made on educational planning by the colonial government until problems compounded by the First World War demanded attention. A 20-year plan, which rested firmly and comfortably on the present system, was than jointly undertaken by Catholic missionaries and the government. The manpower requirements determined by a school's environment were to dictate the school's curricula. Profound educational reforms occurred after World War II. Educational policy became politically contentious and remained so during much of the last six years of colonial rule. The basic orientation remained education for colonial dependency. Since there was only a period of 18 months--a period of frantic activity--between the decision for, and the accomplishment of, Congolese independence, there was little chance to make modifications which might have begun to decolonialize the system. A government planning office in the Ministry of Education was created in January, 1961, to tackle educational problems with the assistance of seven foreign advisors provided by UNESCO. What has been achieved since 1960 is significant, but since the Congo had never had a history of educational planning, educational planning per se remains to be accomplished. (Author/JM)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN THE CONGO (K)

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Presented at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN THE CONGO (K)

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On June 30, 1970, the Congo celebrated the tenth anniversary of its independence.[1] The relative ease with which sovereignty had been transferred from Brussels to Kinshasa (then Leopoldville) contrasted tragically with the chaos which was to follow. The upheaval began with the événements which were triggered on July 5, 1960, by the mutiny of the Force Publique (redesignated the Congolese National Army). Surprised by this turn of events in what had been considered a model colony, the international press tended to magnify what actually happened. Moreover, the Congo's size, strategic location and economic importance all served to keep it as a center of international focus. Bordering on nine countries and occupying an area equal to the U.S. east of the Mississippi River, severe disruptions in the Congo were of immediate concern to large portions of Africa. While continental neighbors feared that what the Congo "had" might prove to be contagious, other nations with which the Congo had traditional commercial and trading relationships were increasingly uneasy over what might happen to the country's proven and potential resources (among which cobalt and copper were especially important), and over any changes which might evolve in Africa affecting the East-West "balance of power." The Congo's domestic crises therefore became international in scope and threatened the continent with the prospect of a hot confrontation in the Cold War.

The requirements and ramifications of the Congo situation absorbed the U.N.'s diplomatic and operational energies to a degree that seriously detracted from its other international commitments and obligations. The steadily increasing preoccupation with the Congo in the months which followed the establishment of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC or ONUC) injected an element of urgency into the U.N.'s plans to try to promote the country's self-reliance so that the U.N. might disengage from a level of commitment which threatened its bankruptcy and disrupted its programs elsewhere.

THE SITUATION AT INDEPENDENCE:

The Congo became an intensely interesting case study subject for many who, for a variety of reasons, were seeking to discover what had gone wrong so as to determine what corrective actions might be taken. The immediate objective to be considered was how to help the country keep its basic services functioning. This meant that replacements had to be found for Belgian and other European technicians who had left both before and after independence and the mutiny. Consequently a world-wide effort was launched to find essential qualified manpower including teachers and educational administrators. Initial efforts to recruit foreigners for the educational sector were complicated by the requirement that they be fluent in French. The search further kindled international concern over the Congo's educational needs, highlighted how few university graduates the country had, and emphasized the needs for planning, institution building and reform in its educational sector.[2]

Thus the longer term goal was to assist the country in establishing the capability for satisfying its own manpower needs. International (bilateral as well as multilateral) funds for institution building and for foreign as well as domestic scholarships were made available while the Congo itself sharply increased its educational budget.

The task of maintaining the existing educational system while attempting to expand and reform it - a complex undertaking in the best of circumstances - was further complicated by the country's unrelenting political crises. Instability in Kinshasa (e.g., three governments were operating simultaneously during September, 1960 - the Lumumba and Ileo Governments and the College of Commissairs) and recurring insecurity outside of the capital city (during the first six months alone there were secessionist activities in Katanga, Kasai, and Oriental Provinces) made even perfunctory governmental and educational administration extremely difficult.

Meanwhile, the Congolese goverriment was able to call upon the missionaries, responsible for operating approximately 90% of the educational system, for support. The fact that the former colonial government's direct operational role in education had been rather marginal became an advantage. Eventually what had been the colonial administrative and supportive functions in such areas as school inspection and teacher recruitment would require the new government's attention. On a short-term basis, however, priorities centered on the availability of teaching personnel. Bolstered by governmental assurances that subsidies and salaries would continue to be paid, a majority of schools were able to reopen late for academic year 1960-61 staffed by Congolese elementary school teachers, missionary teachers and administrators, and the Belgian contract personnel who gradually returned to the secondary schools including those in the official (non-missionary) system.

On the other hand, the U.N., while it had relatively little success in finding teachers to replace the Belgians during 1960 and 1961, was able to provide educational experts available to work on a continuing basis with Congolese officials and advisors in efforts to draft and initiate educational reforms. Thus, in spite of an environment which would appear to have made such activities improbable if not impossible, most schools were kept open, if regional political forces permitted, and plans were also prepared and introduced to meet the Congo's long-term needs. The common dedication of Congolese, U.N., missionary and contract personnel to these tasks helped to overcome inevitable disagreements endemic to relations between distinctly different practitioners and planners. In part, it was a case of the missionaries becoming convinced that the U.N. was not a threat to the existing missionary education system, and in part it was a growing realization by the U.N. of the extent, value and irreplacability (at least within the forseeable future) of a functioning missionary school system. Meanwhile Congolese governments were able to profit from the educational contributions of all.

This briefly was the situation during the post-independence period when the Congo's educational problems were international in scope. Understandably what had been done prior to independence in planning and development tended to be obscured or ignored for political reasons or for lack of information and knowledge. Nevertheless, a good deal of this background information was relevant to the independent Congo's educational planning because it was to influence subsequent options and outcomes. Therefore, in considering educational planning in the Congo a short review of some of the more cogent pre-independence developments will seek to place contemporary planning in perspective as well as to provide some appreciation for how much had been accomplished while indicating what still remains to be done.

EARLY EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN THE CONGO:

The development of the Congo's present formal education system began shortly after Protestant missionaries first entered the region in 1878. Although the missionaries came seeking souls while Leopold's agents sought wealth and dominion, life in the Congo for Europeans was impossible without the assistance of the Congolese. In order to establish stations in which they might survive the jungle, the Europeans needed increasingly well trained and educated Congolese - from laborers and masons to carpenters and mechanics.

Once Europeans had satisfied their immediate living requirements they found it necessary to educate Congolese in order to accomplish the objectives which had drawn them to the Congo: (1) For the missionaries to win converts, to sustain their faith, and then to secure their participation in proselytizing others required that the catechists and converts be able to read the bible for themselves. Literacy became an integral part of missionary work. Catholic missionaries subsequently followed the pattern set by the Protestants although there was considerable divergence on the emphasis placed on education by different Protestant sects and Catholic orders.[3] (2) For Leopold's government to control, to administer and to exploit such an extensive area also required increasingly educated Congolese to serve as non-commissioned officers in the Force Publique and as clerical staff in the administrative services. [4.]

Thus with European rule and occupation, formal education and educational planning were introduced to meet the manpower needs generated by this steady growth of a foreign directed and oriented sector of the Congo's society and economy. The circumstances under which the country was founded and developed in fact predestined educational planning as important to the achievement of European goals there.

The Congo Independent (or Free) State (CIS) was created as a sovereign nation in 1885 at the Treaty of Berlin and awarded to Leopold II of Belgium. Since it was legally a separate kingdom, Leopold had direct access to neither Belgian government personnel nor funds in support of Congo operations. His own fortune was limited, and he was, therefore, forced to derive the maximum benefit possible from the power and influence he could command as King of Belgium and as King-Sovereign of the Congo. By planning and ruthless exploitation of position, prestige, and people, Leopold ruled the Congo for twenty-three years. Confronted after 1900 by mounting international criticism of his African administration, he gave the CIS to Belgium as a colony in November, 1908, just thirteen months prior to his death. His regime, however, had already established patterns which were not to be changed by the succeeding colonial government.

The educational system which grew out of the CIS era was also conditioned by Leopold's rule. He had been faced with (1) lack of enthusiasm for, and expertise in, colonial activities in Belgium, and (2) a lack of manpower in the Congo trained to administer and exploit a large and tribally heterogeneous country. To launch the new government after 1885 Leopold was therefore forced to recruit non-Belgian Europeans and non-Congolese Africans. Once the State had begun to function, however, Leopold moved to Belgianize and Congolize the personnel in order to strengthen his control over his subordinates and to save money. For the military officers needed, many of whom also served as administrators, he drew extensively upon volunteers from the Belgian Army.[5] By the turn of the century Belgians, both military and civilian, dominated the Congo government and the Force Publique, and trained Congolese occupied almost all positions previously filled by foreign Africans.[6]

Other components which Leopold drew upon were those which had played a crucial part in the establishment of the Belgian State in 1831 and in its subsequent development --the Belgian financial-industrial complex and the Catholic Church. At an increasing rate Belgian firms participated in international concessions granted by the King. These concessions were to provide the capital and management to harvest the Congo's wealth, and they exploited not only the natural resources within their holdings, but the human resources there as well.

By the end of Leopold's rule the education system was oriented toward mass primary and vocational education. The major responsibilities for education rested with the Belgian Catholic missionaries but there remained a smaller Protestant system and an official Congregationist system operated at government expense but staffed by Catholic teaching orders. That the official congregationist system included only 5% of total enrollment was misleading in terms of its growing importance, for these schools were

vocational preparatory schools for government employment. They were characterized by a concern with more advanced levels of educational training and by their locations in the embryonic cities. The Congregationists were thus evolving as an official school system to train an occupational, largely government employed, urban elite.

By contrast, advanced schools to prepare missionary personnel were almost without exception located in the rural areas. Although the missions gradually established programs to provide training for government employment, the missions were in fact ambivalent about such courses because the basic interest of the missionaries was in preparing Congolese for mission, not government, service.[7]

While the missionaries had the bulk of the school system from which to select and train personnel for church needs, it was an advantage for which they were paying. Missionaries were expected to contribute to the cost of education, and their contribution, even when subsidies were received from the State, exceeded that of the State.[8] Even though the State did evolve a required core curriculum, in fact, the missionaries retained relative freedom in terms of content, context, and method of instruction and retained the right to proselytize in the classrooms.

As indicated, Leopold had, during the first years of the CIS, encountered indifference and resistance from Belgians in his efforts to recruit them for duty in the Congo. However, by annexation, Belgium had begun to supply the managerial personnel the CIS required. At the same time Congolese had no opportunity to acquire education or training comparable to that of the Europeans because, outside of a few specialized programs for the training of priests and pastors, there were no schools in the Congo above the post-primary vocational level. Furthermore the decision had been made during Leopold's rule not to train Congolese abroad -- not even in Belgium. Therefore, no real areas of job competition existed between Congolese and Europeans because the Congolese were not able to qualify for positions occupied by Europeans. The tradition of supervisory positions being filled by Belgians was established, and Belgium adjusted to provide such personnel.

Leopold's planning was that of a man over his estate. Without planning he neither would have won it, nor made money out of it, nor have passed it on to Belgium and his heirs to that throne. He achieved his ends, and education was crucial to his success. However, his failure to pay adequate attention to the human and humane aspects of his African governance, as he had to its material exploitation and development, made him internationally infamous and caused his heirs to look askance at the property they had acquired. Following annexation, the signatory powers of the Treaty of Berlin expected Belgium to correct the mistakes of Leopold's rule.

COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING:

Thus while Leopold's exploitation of the Congo had become a financial success, it had also become a growing disaster in human terms for those Congolese saddled with the burden of harvesting and transporting the Congo's ivory and rubber exports. The report by Roger Casement, British consul at Boma, published by the British Government in 1904, touched off the international reaction against Leopold's rule which continued until the State had been annexed by Belgium. A considerable amount of the Congo atrocity information, which helped to sustain international pressure, was also provided by Protestant missionaries who, while concerned about the physical well-being of the Congolese, were at least as much concerned over their spiritual welfare, which they felt was being neglected because Leopold was denying Protestants the right to expand while subsidizing and encouraging Catholics.[9] Protestants reasoned that if Belgium assumed control of the Congo the treatment of missionaries would be more impartial and the Protestants would be free to resume their growth. In many cases, however, CIS officials associated with supporting the King's Congo policies were the same officials later involved in Belgian colonial affairs. Furthermore, Belgians understandably harbored some resentment against those accusing their King, and by implication those Belgians supporting him, of uncivilized treatment of the Congolese. Consequently, the position of Protestant missionaries in the Congo changed very little following annexation -- and the Protestant share of the education system remained at about 15%.[10]

On the financial side, it became quite clear during the parliamentary debates on annexation that Belgian legislators were adamantly opposed to subsidizing the proposed colony. The education system already functioning in the CIS had the advantages of being inexpensive, rapidly expanding, and except for the Protestant missions, Belgian in orientation and staffing.[11] Understandably, it remained relatively unchanged after annexation.

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the major reform activities undertaken by the Ministry of Colonial Affairs dealt with the colony's economic structure. The era of rubber and ivory ended, and concessions granted under Leopold's rule were modified and/or terminated. New sources of the Congo's wealth -- the copper, tin, gold, and later uranium ore mines -- required heavy and long-term capital investments. Major concentrations of population began to gather near the mines as well as near the growing administrative, transportation, and light industry centers.

During the German occupation of Belgium from 1914 to 1918, the colony's economy boomed. The Congolese not only satisfied the expanding new manpower needs in the economic sector but supplied thousands of soldiers and porters for the military campaigns of the Allies in the Cameroons, Ruanda-Urundi, Rhodesia, and especially Tanganyika. In human terms the war-related economic and military demands, plus the continuing toll from diseases, exacerbated an alarm over the Congo's depopulation which had begun to be expressed even prior to annexation. The disruption of the traditional ways of life was blamed on Christian evangelization, on new economic influences, and on an improved transportation system which spread diseases more rapidly among the Congolese. The Congolese birth rate was falling while the mortality rate was rising -- the Congo, it was feared, was being depopulated.

There was general agreement that reforms were essential, but there was general disagreement on what they were to be. Two basic positions emerged: either to attempt a complete withdrawal of European influence from Congolese society so that the traditional ways of life could be reestablished, or to insist on still greater intervention in Congolese life to correct the depopulation trend while continuing to proselytize, "civilize," and recruit Congolese into the colonial economic structure. The policy adopted had the outward appearance of being a compromise. Actually even the remaining traditional sectors of Congolese life became more closely regulated by an increasingly efficient colonial bureaucracy capable of implementing the evolving Belgian paternalistic policy.

Furthermore colonial officials, finally admitting that Congolese being attracted to the expanding towns and cities were neither temporary nor transient, began addressing the problems newly urbanized Africans were facing.[12] The new policy was to make these growing population centers self-perpetuating, stable and morally acceptable. To do this, government and business began to follow a family, rather than a worker, recruitment policy -- a practice previously pioneered by the missionaries and subsequently partially adopted by the Force Publique. It was hoped that life in the cities could be made attractive enough so that not only would there be an increased urban birth rate but also that urbanized children would at maturity enter the urban labor force as their parents retired. The new policy would avoid the recurring expenses and problems created by the constant need to recruit and train new workers from the tribal areas, and would also eradicate the suffering and loss of lives incurred in the native transfer and adjustment process.[13] It would also obviate the repeated searing of the social fabric of the villages inherent in the removal of their young men. Thus the rural economy and birth rate would benefit as well.

The new "native policies" and reforms in labor recruitment laws were accompanied by the formation of a comprehensive colonial education plan. Issued in 1925, the policy guidelines increased the colonial subsidization of the Catholic missionary education system so as to provide support for the additional costs of implementing the new educational policies.[14] Primary education was divided into two levels. The first level schools (écoles primaires du premier degrée), consisting of the first two years of primary school, were located throughout the country, and being overwhelmingly village "bush" schools, they were designated as "rural schools". The curriculum stressed agricultural training and literacy. Secondary level primary schools (écoles primaires du second degrée) included grades 3 through 5, and being located in urban areas and at central mission stations, they were named "urban schools". Only the best students from the "rural schools" were admitted to the "urban schools" where, although manual training was still included, the curriculum was more academically oriented. The outstanding graduates of the urban schools could enter special schools designed to train an elite (écoles spéciales pour la formation de l'élite) of teachers, clerical staff, and specialists in other designated vocations.[15]

In 1929, the recommendations of 1925, only slightly changed, were promulgated into law.[16] This was in effect a twenty year contract between the Catholic missionaries and the government. Although subsequent educational reforms were proposed in 1937-38 which placed further emphasis on secondary education, the Second World War and the occupation of Belgium intervened. The plan of 1925 remained basically in effect therefore until the reforms of 1948, 1952, and 1955 gave the option of full academic secondary education to the Congolese.[17] The 1925 plan continued to encourage the rapid expansion of two-year schools staffed by dedicated, but usually poorly qualified, teachers. Since these schools were to serve the masses and funnel the best students away into the urban schools, rural schools understandably came to be equated with inferior education and with terminal agriculturally oriented programs. Even those from urban schools who did not qualify for secondary schools still had the option of enrolling in more practically oriented and shorter-termed post-primary vocational training. Gradually urban secondary school education became equated with elite training and with access to higher paying positions in the non-traditional sector of the economy. The availability of superior educational opportunities in the cities made them that much more attractive.

The exceptions to this planned program were the non-subsidized missionary schools for Congolese priests and pastors and the experimental type programs, usually also established by the missionaries, to provide special professional training. Initial emphasis in the latter schools was on preparing Congolese to help man the expanding hospitals, dispensaries, and preventive medicine programs. Evolving during the 1930's, these programs provided advanced secondary and then post-secondary training for male

nurses, medical and veterinary assistants, and eventually agricultural, administrative and social assistants.[18] Once the Congolese had demonstrated they could master the required content and subsequently perform the duties, the government usually not only subsidized the programs but often founded similar ones in the official system.

Prior to annexation the Protestants had opened their first advanced center to prepare pastors and teachers, and the Catholics had founded a junior and a senior seminary (petit and grand séminaire) to train candidates for the priesthood. While Protestant schools during the colonial period did not offer a level of education much beyond that available in the subsidized school system, the Catholic seminaries did. The junior seminaries offered nearly the equivalent of a complete secondary school program while the senior seminaries, requiring 3 to 4 years of training beyond the junior seminary for a total of 15 to 16 years of educational preparation and training, were equal to their Belgian counterparts. By 1947, the eve of the establishment of full Congolese secondary education not oriented toward a religious career, there were 20 junior seminaries with an enrollment of 1,273 pupils.[19] Large numbers of Congolese enrolled in seminaries apparently because this was the only way to obtain advanced academic education. There were approximately 500 Congolese priests by independence, and the majority of the hundreds who had dropped out of the seminaries short of the priesthood were, insofar as possible, channelled back into Catholic missionary schools as teachers.[20]

The Protestant and Catholic advanced training schools were usually located in rural areas. Missionaries deliberately sought to avoid the influences of the cities which they felt corrupted Congolese. Assignments in the cities were accepted by the missionaries themselves on sufference. As growing enclaves of the colonial society, however, the cities came to be the major training, educational and eventually recruitment (after Congolese urban populations began to perpetuate themselves in the mid-1930's) sites for governmental and parastatal organizations.

A complete secondary school program unrelated to religious training became available to the Congolese only with the school reform of 1948. Limited to Europeans, a Catholic operated program had been started in 1912 and had developed primary and secondary schools which in 1946 were augmented by the establishment of official lay schools. Modeled on the Belgian academic secondary schools, these offered the metropolitan program (Régime Metropolitain). The religiously staffed secondary schools established in 1948 for the Congolese, on the other hand, followed a different, and less rigorous, Congolese program (Régime Congolais). The reform introduced in 1952 permitted highly selected Congolese students who could meet severe social as well as academic standards to enter metropolitan program schools with Belgian students. Not until 1955 was an official secondary lay school system established for Congolese with a complete Belgian secondary school curriculum. This, of course, was considered a major achievement by Congolese fighting for equality with the colonials.

In effect the establishment of equality between Congolese and colonials at the secondary level was coterminous with the development of colonial universities. Both occurring simultaneously placed a strain on the education system which, to avoid collapse, demanded extensive resources in terms of financing and foreign teachers. Subsequent social, political and economic events compounded secondary and university problems during the 1950's, but the colonial government which had created this situation did little to solve it prior to independence. The dislocation of the higher sections of the education system continues to plague the Congo nearly twenty years later even though the educational proportion of the national budget increased from 15.5% in 1959 to 31% in 1969.[21]

The first university, Lovanium, succored by the venerable Louvain, opened in 1954 on the outskirts of Kinshasa. Reacting against a Catholic monopoly of university education in the colony, the then Socialist dominated Belgian government established a second university, the Official University of the Congo (UOC), in Lubumbashi (Elisabethville) in 1956, for domestic and ideological political purposes rather than for any real need for a second university in the colony. The founders of Lovanium, many of whom were educators, had evolved an interim plan for preparing and recruiting Congolese students for admission to the university pending the availability of graduates from the new secondary school programs. For the government inspired UOC, however, the lack of full secondary school programs for Congolese meant that in spite of efforts to recruit indigenous students in 1956, there were simply not enough who qualified for university admission. Thus, the UOC student body started and remained overwhelmingly European until after independence and the UN-Katanga crisis. The Belgian Government had intended that the UOC be a non-Catholic higher education option available for the Congolese, but in effect this policy was a failure during the colonial period because UOC, unlike Lovanium, never became a Congolese institution in terms of student enrollment.

In summary, a distinct imprint had not been made on educational planning by the colonial government until problems compounded by the First World War demanded attention. A twenty year plan was then jointly undertaken by Catholic missionaries and the government which rested firmly and comfortably on the existing system. The manpower requirements determined by a school's environment were to dictate the school's curricula -- rural schools had terminal and agricultural educational programs for the masses whereas urban schools pointed toward an elitist oriented secondary or post-primary education with employment in government and business. The control which the colonial government exercised over labor recruitment and internal migration, combined with the levels of education and training required for job placement (especially for the more skilled positions), meant that the output of the school system was compatible in type and location with the requirements of the labor market.

As noted, profound educational reforms occurred after World War II.[22] They did not interfere with the subsidization of Catholic mission schools, but the former government - Catholic missionary educational policy and planning cooperation and compatibility, a sina qua non for the 1929 agreement, ended. Within Belgian politics the Liberals and Socialists were no longer willing to play a critical but passive role regarding Congolese educational policies.[23] After the Socialist-Liberal coalition assumed control in 1954, educational policy in the Congo became politically contentious and remained so during much of last six years of colonial rule.[24]

In addition to dissension within the government over education, there was strong disagreement among Catholic educators and Catholic orders over how strongly the Catholic Church should be involved in promoting higher education for Congolese and over who among the Catholics was to be responsible for it. The non-missionary Catholics from Louvain had played an outstanding role in establishing the advanced professional schools founded in the 1930's and 1940's and had spearheaded the founding of Lovanium. In the process one of the most powerful Catholic Congolese missionary orders, the Jesuits, ended up being excluded from the direction of, and an active role in, the new institution.[25] Louvain's representatives were also responsible for Lovanium's being situated at Kinshasa rather than at its initial rural location at the greatest Catholic training and educational center in the Congo, the Jesuit's complex at Kisantu in the Bas Congo.

In 1950 , a ten year Congo development plan was espoused by the Belgian government which placed considerable emphasis on the development of Congolese manpower to satisfy the plan's anticipated needs. Education's part in the plan was expressed essentially in terms of targets. Increasing numbers of Congolese were to be trained to occupy more advanced and important auxiliary positions. However, the auxiliary roles, as far as the Congolese were concerned, were increasingly unacceptable and odius. There was an obvious discrepancy between the government promoted Belgo-Congolese Community concept, stressing Belgian-Congolese brotherhood, and the racial inequalities which prevailed in education and employment opportunities.[26] As Congolese political leadership developed during the 1950's, and as dissensions within the colonial power structure grew, the Congolese were able to make their dissatisfaction with this situation felt. By 1958 Prime Minister Eyskens sought to assure the Congolese that during the second ten year plan, 1960-70, emphasis would be placed on equal employment and educational opportunities for the Congolese.[27] It was, therefore, just prior to independence that the government was willing to listen to the Congolese - that the Congolese could insist that they be listened to - and that the educational aspirations of the Congolese were considered.

Educational planning during the last ten years of colonial rule had become more a matter of reacting first to Belgian and then to Congolese political pressures. The basic orientation however, remain unchanged--education was for colonial dependency. Since there was only a period of eighteen months--a period of frantic activity--between the decision for, and the accomplishment of, Congolese independence, there was little chance to make modifications which might have begun to decolonialize the system. Thus when they were finally in a position to influence and alter colonial education and planning, and to begin to shape the system to fit the needs of a nation rather than a colony, there simply was not time for the Congolese to gain the experience or practice in self-government they needed.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND PROBLEMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE:

An independent Congolese government was faced with a backlog of unrequited educational aspirations. As indicated above, the new government inherited an educational structure grossly imbalanced and decolonization added pressing new problems.[28] Popular demand for more academic programs at the secondary level was answered by a variety of expedient measures--schools changed their programs simply by changing designations; classes were enlarged; unqualified teachers were assigned to teach at more advanced grades; increasing numbers of students were sent into the cities to live with tribal kinsmen in order to gain access to secondary schools; etc. Academic standards began to slip at all levels of the primary and secondary system while for political reasons enrollments had to expand.

A government planning office in the Ministry of Education was created in June, 1961, to tackle educational problems.[29] The office began its work in 1961-62 with the assistance of 7 foreign advisors provided by UNESCO.[30] The advisors were distributed among the five sections of the office: Planning, Statistics, School Books and Programs, a Center for Professional Orientation, and a Documentation Center. By 1966 the overall UN staff was being reduced to a size more in keeping with a regular rather than an emergency UN operation. In the planning sector they had assisted the Ministry with the reorganization of the secondary school system as well as with the gathering and compilation of educational statistics. However, planning and programming for educational development on the basis of these imperfect but good statistics were practically ignored.[31] Since the Congo had never had a history of educational planning, the process had never been institutionalized and neither sufficient colonial nor Congolese personnel had ever been trained to assume national educational planning tasks. What has been achieved since 1960 is significant, but educational planning <u>per se</u> remains to be accomplished.

1. Administrative Difficulties:

Many of the functions which the National Ministry of Education has either ceased to perform or been unable to implement have been assumed by the missionary education system since independence. The Bureau of Catholic Education (BEC) has in effect become a second National Ministry of Education.[32] It maintains a large and well-qualified staff which, among other things, publishes annual statistics for the Catholic school system which constitute the bulk of the data later incorporated into the Ministry of Education's reports on schools, attendance, teachers, etc. Protestants, to serve their system, also maintain a Bureau of Protestant Education (BEP) in Kinshasa which, following BEC's example, works to coordinate educational activities, represents schools, collects and consolidates information, and also prepares annual statistical reports. While a small operation in comparison to that of BEC, it has developed substantially since independence. There is also a Kimbanguist office (BEK) which is beginning to attempt to perform services comparable to those of BEC and BEP as does a more recently founded National Office of Free Education (Bureau National de l'Enseignement Libre or BNEL).[33] BNEL represents the collective interests of private unsubsidized secondary schools. As long as students can pay fees, they can continue to remain in "free" schools with the hope of eventually passing examinations which will win them admissions to the regular educational streams.[34]

The fact that the missionaries, and more recently BEK and BNEL, have been willing to divert resources and personnel to expand and improve central administrative units in Kinshasa indicates how important these offices are in supporting their respective education systems in the political fulcrum of the capital and above all at the Ministry. The services of these offices are invaluable, especially for schools in the interior, since the administrative inefficiency which has plagued Congolese education seems to increase in proportion to the distance from Kinshasa. By contrast the administrative efficiency of BEC has caused many of those in the official school system who must go through the clogged official bureaucratic channels to express with some enthusiasm the wish that the Ministry would (or could) negotiate a contract for BEC to handle the requisition and distribution of salaries, supplies and materials, scholarship funds, and allowances.[35] Understandably such an arrangement would be repugnant to both the government and BEC, but it is indicative of the frustrations felt by members of the official school system in the interior.[36]

In spite of the obvious and well recognized needs for improvement in educational administration, there are still no programs organized to prepare educational administrators. This is in spite of the fact that a large share of the graduates in education from university level normal schools who accept teaching positions are assigned to administrative jobs, especially if they are stationed in the interior. It appears that the major

factor inhibiting the establishment of an educational administration program at the post-secondary level is the fact that such a program has no counterpart in the Belgian system.

2. Quantitative Developments:

In spite of the various problems faced since independence, the Congo has managed to increase its student enrollment impressively. The number of students in primary schools jumped from 1,635,800 in 1959-60 to 2,338, 895 in 1967-68, and in secondary schools from 42,630 to 162,237. Higher education expanded from 763 students (344 being Congolese) in 1959/60 to 5,827 (5,692 being Congolese) in 1967/68 of whom 3,476 (3,370 Congolese) were in universities and 2,351 (2,322 Congolese) in superior schools.[37] Projecting from the 1957 census, it appears that between 70% and 80% of school age children were in the school system in 1967/68.

Since 1959-60 the primary school enrollment has thus increased about 5% per annum and the secondary school enrollment by 22% per annum. Yet even with this controlled growth at the primary level and this rapid expansion at the secondary level, it is estimated that of approximately 170,000 students completing primary school in 1967-68 only 60,000 were able to gain admission to secondary schools.[38] Ministry of Education officials, operating on the assumption that university enrollment should be 1% of the total enrollment of the system, have expressed concern. Instead of the 5,827 presently in post-secondary education the country should have at least 20,000. [39] This does not include the students studying overseas who will be decreased after 1968-69 by the government's decision to award scholarships only for graduate studies At present it is doubtful that the annual output which would result from a post-secondary system with a total enrollment of 20,000 could be comfortably absorbed by the national economy unless students were being graduated with skills the country required and were willing to accept assignments throughout the Congo.

3. Qualitative Problems and Wastage:

The steady fall in the quality of education in the Congo is attested to by almost all concerned. The Ministry has warned that the system has already suffered a great deterioration,[40] and Catholic, Protestant, and Official educators repeat it incessantly in all parts of the country. Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this appears in the promotion rates for primary schools (see Table 1) and for secondary schools (see Table 2).[41] Of those in primary school, 54.7% had dropped out by the end of the second grade and 74.4% by the end of the third. Studies made in other countries indicate an extremely important result of such a high wastage rate at this level is that students dropping out of school prior to the 4th grade are likely to revert to functional illiteracy.[42] This possibility becomes all the more probable given the

inferior educational experience acquired through only a basic exposure at lower elementary schools often not staffed with qualified teachers and not having sufficient teaching materials.

The "teacher problem" appears both in terms of a lack of qualified teachers and in the inability of the schools to attract sufficient younger trained teachers into the system to keep abreast of school expansion. At the primary level in 1967-68, there were 61,408 teachers of whom 439 were expatriate and 60,969 Congolese. Of the expatriate personnel 265 were directors of schools and 183 were teachers. The Congolese were employed as follows: 144 as school inspectors, 3,572 as school directors, and 57,253 as teachers. The qualifications of these teachers were: 14,378 with 4 year secondary diplomas; 16,084 with 2 to 3 years of post-primary training, and 26,791 designated as unqualified.[43] In all, approximately 70% of those teaching were not qualified for the positions they held.

At the secondary level there were 6,722 teachers for 1967-68 of whom 2,771 were foreign teachers and 3,951 were Congolese. The expatriate teachers consisted of 1,351 religious personnel and 1,420 secular teachers. Of those with university degrees, 748 were foreign and 198 Congolese while those with regent[44] degrees were 1,056 to 664. Only 2.7% of those teaching in secondary schools were determined as unqualified insofar as credentials were concerned.[45]

What the figures do not show are the conditions under which these teachers have been working or how well they have performed. An example of the most common teacher complaints would include: salary payments in arrears from 4 to 6 months; inadequate school buildings (e.g. no lights, no toilets, no drinking water, etc., in the schools); inadequate school furniture; insufficient books and materials; inadequate faculty housing; and an excess of pupils. School construction outside of the Bas Congo and Kinshasa has not even come close to keeping up with the establishment of and enrollment in the schools. Certainly in the northeastern part of the country the insurrections have compounded this because so many schools were destroyed and almost all were plundered. A secondary school in Oriental Province is a very different institution from one in Kinshasa. The inspection system, which broke down at independence, has been partially rebuilt. It is, however, still not in a position to oversee adequately that even a minimum level of acceptable performance on the part of schools and teachers is maintained. Furthermore, it is difficult to impose rigid standards on unqualified teachers, and it is impossible to discipline them with any conviction when it is known that a teacher dismissed cannot be replaced.

The secondary school situation has been an extremely difficult and expensive one for the government since independence, as previously indicated. Aware of the problems, the government planned in 1961 to limit the growth of secondary schools to an enrollment of 30,000 during the following 6 years because of the lack of teachers, rooms, materials, etc. In spite of this plan there were, as noted, 60,000 in schools by 1967-68. Certainly one of the major contributing factors was the creation in the Congo of the 21 plus "provincettes" with 21 provincial capitals which were determined to have an official secondary school similar to those located in the capital cities of the original six provinces. It is these new schools which are in the most desperate circumstances, yet it is also these schools which give the rural school children a somewhat better chance of getting into a secondary school at all.

At the university level, as Figure 1 indicates, the graduation rate is an incredibly small proportion of the enrollment figures. These attrition rates are probably the highest of all universities in Africa. Part of the difficulty rests with the deterioration of the standards of the primary and secondary systems, and part of it lies with the examination system. University examinations at the end of the year cover courses taken throughout the year. At Lovanium a single failure requires that all examinations be repeated. Only one repetition of the examination is permitted, and often government scholarships are not paid until the examinations have been successfully completed. Lovanium remains the outstanding academic institution in the country, and it can still hold its own with Louvain. However, the cost of maintaining this type of equivalence is a heavy one in terms of both human and material resources.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE:

There has been planning in the Congo since independence, but it has tended to be piecemeal in approach and spotty in implementation. Government as well as missionary educators agree that the country has not yet engaged in overall educational planning but urge that it do so as soon as possible.[46] The problems which educators in the Congo now ask to be addressed will require decisions politically hard to make and practically hard to implement. Political instability made it impossible for previous governments to do more than try to placate the problems. President Mobutu's government has re-established control, and the economy has responded with a resurgence unequalled since independence. In these circumstances, long-term planning and implementation could be accomplished if the government were firmly behind it. There are now Congolese qualified to direct major educational reforms who are well aware of the education system's problems.

Perhaps the most difficult task facing the government will be to reduce the educational imbalances which exist between urban and rural and between the Lower Congo and the Upper Congo. As indicated earlier, colonial administrators deliberately made the cities their educational zones and within the cities they trained the Congolese required for the non-traditional sectors of the economy. However, the colonial government could enforce an urban-rural dichotomy in education in ways a national government cannot. In addition it is now no longer feasible to leave secondary education in the rural regions basically to missionaries because it is increasingly difficult for missionaries to support the heavy costs of secondary education and because they too appear to be encountering difficulty in recruiting the replacements even their existing Congo staffs require.

Political instability following independence gave a tremendous boost to the concentration of secondary and higher educational facilities not just in urban areas per se, but in Kinshasa. During the past decade 10 superior institutions have been founded in the capital while only 2 were founded elsewhere. A contributing factor was that foreign teachers would accept employment in Kinshasa schools when they would not in the interior. More than ever the interior institutions have depended upon those Congolese and missionaries who were willing to remain at the cost of receiving fewer foreign imports, of longer delays in payment of salaries and allowances, and of teaching students who had less chance to advance through the educational system in spite of their qualifications. With the insurrections and the partial destruction of major cities such as Kisangani and Bukavu, and a host of lesser regional satellite cities, Kinshasa and more recently, but to a lesser degree, Lubumbashi, have become the areas of urban attraction and the areas of greatest educational opportunity.

This situation would not be quite so important if students winning their way especially into Kinshasa were willing to return to the interior following their studies. However, it is painfully apparent that the majority of students are not prepared to return to the interior, and if ordered into the interior to perform government service, their major concern is how to get reassigned back to Kinshasa.[47] At the same time, students at the universities express concern over the gap which exists between them and the population at large.[48]

On the other hand those students attending the new normal schools opening in the interior, as well as many of those students attending the University at Kisangani, appear ready to serve wherever assigned.[49] These institutions, located (in addition to Kisangani) at Boma, Kikwit, Bukavu, Luluabourg, as well as at Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, are being developed by the government and the missionaries. Faculty and staff working to help develop these schools feel that they offer the only hope thus far of providing Congolese graduates who, over the long term, will serve as teachers in secondary schools outside of the major cities.

Kinshasa's favored position over the Upper Congo vis - a - vis opportunities in secondary and higher education is in effect shared with the province of Kongo Central. Geographically constituting the old Lower Congo plus the capital city and its suburbs, the two components contain no more than one-fourth of the total population but have over one-third of the secondary schools, nearly one-half of the university students, and approximately eight nineths of the superior institute students.[50] There are also latent political problems involved in this limited distribution of educational excellence becuase these two areas are tribally considered Bakongolese. The Lower Congo owes its educational development historically to the missionaries. Before pushing into the Upper Congo (beyond Kinshasa), they developed bases of support including missionary schools in the Lower Congo. These often evolved into extremely impressive educational complexes such as those at previously mentioned Kisantu and the Protestant counterpart at Kimpese. With Equateur, the poorest province in the Congo, the Lower Congo has also been spared insurrection and has not had the burden of rebuilding but could concentrate on expanding and improving education. Meanwhile the present imbalance is politically irritating especially to the northeastern provinces ravaged by recurrent fighting.

The government's responsibility is not to detract from the Bas Congo and Kinshasa, but to concentrate greater resources on bringing the remainder of the country's educational system up to a comparable level. It also means placing educational institutions where they will serve the country's manpower needs. It is obvious that educational training in Kinshasa will not provide manpower for the rural regions. To retain human resources, instead of losing them to the urban areas, rural educational institutions must be located in cultural and geographical proximity to the areas where graduates will build their careers. The present migration to Kinshasa and increasingly to Lubumbashi of nearly 90% of the university and superior institution candidates is dysfunctional to the development of the country.[51]

The only way that the educational redistribution can be accomplished to the extent necessary is through educational planning and implementation.

Belgian policy and planning in the Congo from the outset became, as Professor Malengreau has indicated, practical and empirical.[52] This was as true for the policy followed by the Belgian government after annexation as it had been during King Leopold's rule. A new system must be evolved which is equally practical to serve the needs of an independent Congo. The Congo has, during the past decade, essentially prepared itself to design and launch a relevant system of educational planning suited to national needs. It still remains, however, to be done.

TABLE 1: PROGRESSION OF STUDENTS FROM ONE YEAR TO THE NEXT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Grade / Year	1		2		3		4		5		6	Total
62-63	666593		380993		275030		208510		162166		111675	1804967
		62%		82%		86%		89%		82%		
63-64	714225		415086		311164		236759		184914		133082	1995230
		60%		76%		76%		80%		75%		
64-65	715600		429700		317300		236300		188310		139000	2026210
		61%		75%		76%		82%		82%		
65-66	715915		437605		323753		239949		192951		154474	2064647
		65%		79%		77%		83%		85%		
66-67	766726		465833		345450		250689		200298		164204	2193200
		66%		84%		80%		87%		88%		
67-68	769881		508362		390327		276239		216888		177198	2338895
Mean Ratio		62%		79%		79%		84%		82%		

FIGURE 1: UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT TRENDS

From 1961/62 to 1967/1968

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

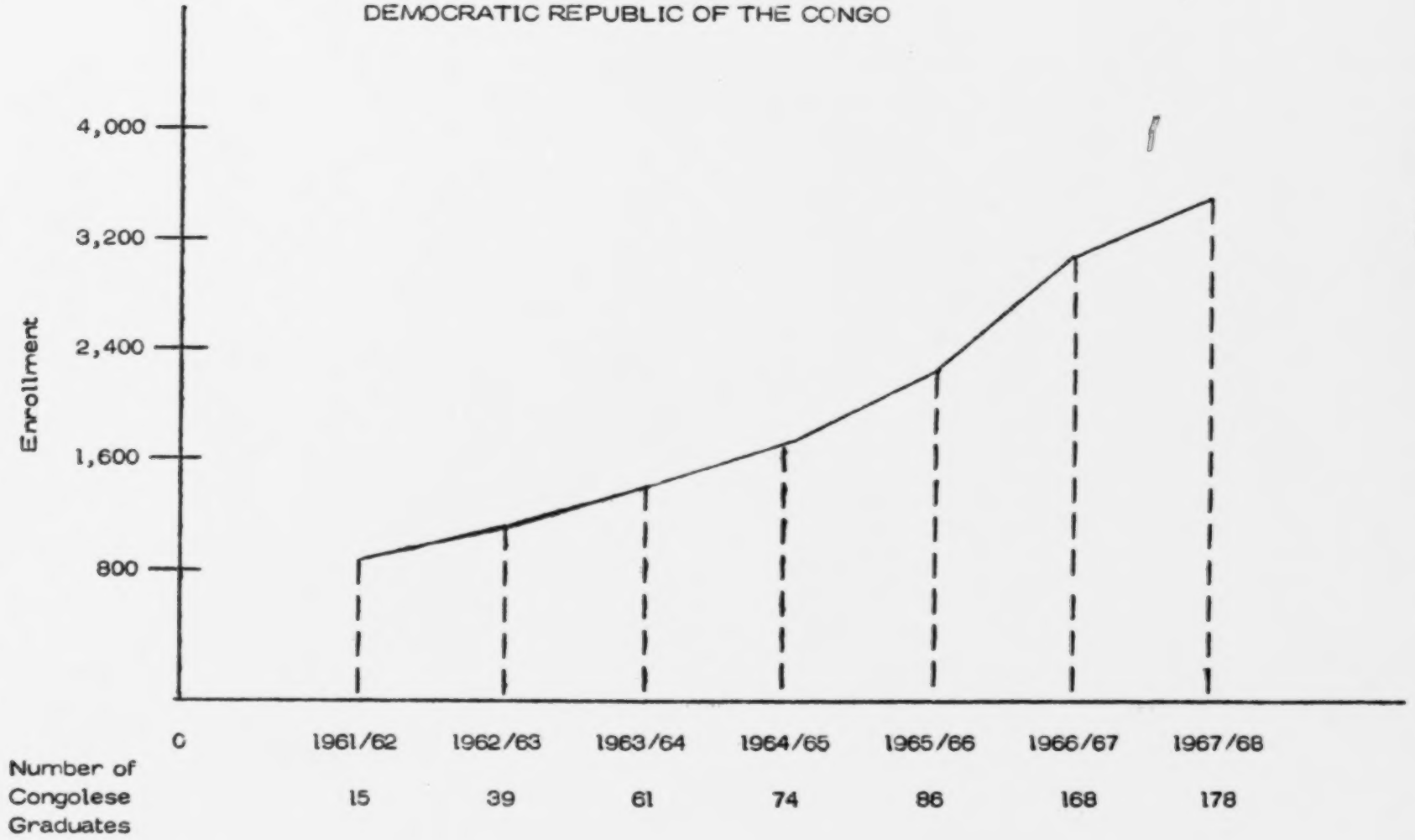

TABLE 2: SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Class Level	1		2		3		4		5		6	Total
1961-62	25,376	78%	11,279	86%	7,214	78%	4,096	39%	771	96%	418	49,152
1962-63	30,861	79%	19,819	85%	9,700	86%	5,636	50%	1,595	95%	739	68,350
1963-64	38,215	60%	24,453	67%	16,940	61%	8,315	37%	2,841	63%	1,509	92,273
1964-65	34,630	83%	22,844	85%	16,281	74%	10,271	62%	3,087	78%	1,778	88,891
1965-66	49,978	69%	28,876	77%	19,397	70%	12,017	66%	6,354	62%	2,456	119,078
1966-67	57,965	71%	34,905	78%	22,235	77%	13,556	78%	7,942	69%	3,965	138,270
1967-68	62,406		39,885		26,725		17,120		10,390		5,511	162,237
Average percentage of students who continue		73%		80%		74%		68%		77%		

The average annual rate of growth in the total number of students is 22%

Footnotes

1. The Congo (Kinshasa), or the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will be referred to simply as the Congo.

2. At independence there were approximately 30 Congolese university graduates - 20 from Lovanium (Kinshasa), 4 from the Official University of the Congo at Lubumbashi (Elisabethville), and from the figures René Lemarchand quotes of Congolese university students enrolled in Belgian universities prior to independence, it is estimated that at least 5 would have graduated by June 30, 1960. René Lemarchand, Political Awakening in the Belgian Congo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).

3. Barbara A. Yates, The Missions and Educational Development in Belgian Africa 1876-1908 (Columbia University: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1967).

4. F. Flament and Others. LaForce Publique de sa naissance á 1914 (Bruxelles: Editions J. Duculot, S.A., 1952).

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., pp. 84-86.

7. J. Mazé, La collaboration scolaire des gouvernements coloniaux et des missions (Alger: Maison-Caree, 1933), p. 112. Mazé quoting de Jonghe.

8. This continued to be true until 1960 as is pointed out in: Bureau de l'Enseignement Catholique, Où en est l'enseignement au Congo? (Leopoldville: BEC, 1960), pp. 28-31.

9. John H. Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals (London: Seeley, Service & Co, Limited, 1913), p. 25. Weeks explains that he would turn to Morel and the British press as a last resort if the government of the Congo refused to investigate the charges which he had made usually on behalf of the Congolese.

10. George Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, Congo Missionary and Explorer (New York: Revell, 1909), p. 547, and H.F. Drake, Some Contemporary Problems Confronting the Protestant Church in the Belgian Congo (New York: Unpublished Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1960). On page 52, Drake writes that between 1906 and 1914 Protestant missions received 978 hectares of land from the government compared to 23,106 hectares granted to Catholic missions. See also

10.(cont.) Ruth Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences coloniales, 1959) pp. 337-358 and 361-362. She also explains in detail Protestant influence on delaying British recognition of Belgian annexation of the Congo.

11. The Belgian government for a time entertained the idea of Belgianizing the foreign Protestant missions in the Congo as they had already Belgianized most of the Catholic orders there. The Protestant community in Belgium, however, numbering as estimated 70,000, was incapable of assuming such a burden. Slade, Ibid., pp. 347-356, and Jules Ramband, Au Congo pour Christ (Liege: Imprimerie de Nessonvaux, 1909).

12. R. Mouchet and R. van Nitsen, Le main-d'oeuvre indigène au Congo belge, les problèmes qu'elle évoque (Bruxelles: Imprimerie des Trauvaux Publique, 1940).

13. Guy Baumer, Les centres indigènes extracoutumiers au Congo belge (Paris: Editions Domat-Montchrestien, 1939).

14. (Belgium) Ministère des Colonies, Service de l'enseignement, Project d'organisation de l'enseignement libre au Congo belge avec le concours des Sociétés de Missions nationales (Bruxelles: Weissenbruch, 1925).

15. R. P. Mols, La formation d'une élite noire par l'enseignement supérieur (Louvain University: Unpublished Thesis, 1947).

16. Congo belge, Organisation de l'enseignement libre au Congo belge et au Ruanda-Urundi, avec le concours des Sociétés de Mission nationales (Dison-Verviers: Disonaise, 1929).

17. (Congo belge) Service de l'enseignement, Organisation de l'enseignement libre subsidié pour indigènes avec le concours des sociétés de missions chrétiennes (Bruxelles: n. p., 1945), and (Congo belge) Service de l'enseignement, Organisation de l'enseignement libre subsidie' pour indigènes avec le concours des sociétés de missions chrétiennes (Bruxelles: Imprimerie l'avenir coloniale belge, 1952).

18. Willy de Craemer and Renee Fox, The Emerging Physician (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, No. 19, 1968) provides a full description of the development of the medical assistant program in the Congo. The government established a program for medical assistants very shortly after the Catholics had.

19. L. Denis, "Les seminaires régionaux du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi," Revue Clerge Africain (No. 2, 1947), p. 42.

20. Some, apparently the more politically oriented such as former President Kasavubu and Vice Prime Minister Gizenga, elected to become clerks instead.

21. Figures supplied by the Institute de Recherches Economique et Sociales (IRES), in July, 1969.

22. Bureau de l'Enseignement Catholique, Où en est l'enseignement au Congo? (Leopoldville: BEC, 1960), pp. 19-20, and 30-31, indicates Catholic missionary displeasure at some of the post-war changes. BEC itself was organized in 1951.

23. The opening of Lovanium in the middle of the academic year 1953-54 is an example of growing Catholic concern. Realizing that the Socialists might win the election in 1954, Lovanium's founders were determined that the university would be in operation before the election so that an anti-clerical government would be faced with a fait accompli. Interview with Professor G. Malengreau at Louvain, in 1968. The Coulon-DeHeyn-Renson Education Mission's report in 1954 signalled the outbreak of the "schools war" between the new Socialist-Liberal government (Auguste Buisseret, Liberal, was the Colonial Minister) and the Catholic missionaries. (Congo belge) Ministère des Colonies, Conseil supérieur de l'enseignement, La réforme de l'enseignement au Congo belge (Bruxelles: Imprimere Louvieroise, 1954).

24. Crawford Young, Politics in the Congo (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), presents a careful review of the role of education in Congolese politics during the 1946-60 period.

25. Guy Malengreau, La naissance et le développement de l'Université Lovanium (Louvain, Unpublished Manuscript, 1968). This fascinating story is being prepared by Professor Malengreau who, with his father, was instrumental in the founding of Lovanium.

26. Patrice Lumumba, Congo My Country (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 181-82.

27. Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politique (C.R.I.S.P.), Sommaire, declarations gouvernementales 1958-66 (Bruxelles: CRISP, S.D., No. 5, 1966), p. 11.

28. Barbara A. Yates, "Structural Problems in Education in the Congo (Leopoldville)," Comparative Education Review (Vol. 7, No. 2, October, 1963). Reviews the structural imabalance of the educational system in the immediate post-independence period. Many of the problems outlined in this article continue to be faced by the Congo today.

29. The Ministry of Education was actually the Ministry of Education and of Cultural Affairs (Ministère de l'Education Nationale et des Affaires Culturelles), but the title will be abbreviated to Ministry of Education. The Planning Office (Service pédagogiques et planification), initially the 5th Direction of the Ministry was later redesignated.

30. UNESCO provided 8 experts in 1962-63; 10 in 1963-64; 7 in 1964-65; and 4 in 1965-66.

31. Perhaps the three most important elements missing for planning purposes are: some accounting of budgetary expenditures at the end of the fiscal year; a consolidation of educational expenditures from the ordinary, extraordinary and presidential budgets; and enrollment figures compiled at the end of the academic year as well as at the beginning of the year.

32. BEC is located across the street from the administrative building containing the Ministry of Education and at present is equally close to the house which serves as offices of the Minister and his immediate staff. This has facilitated interchange between the two organizations as has the important fact that the President of BEC has been M. Ekwa, a Congolese Jesuit priest, who is not only extremely well qualified but has the personal charm and diplomacy to direct the Catholic educational complex with its large component of foreign (Belgian) expertise and to maintain close cooperation with the Congolese government.

33. The Kimbanguist Church, officially Eglise de Jésus Christ sur terre par le prophète Simon Kimbangu, was during the past year admitted to membership in the World Council of Churches. It is not known what influence this might have regarding the association between Kimbanguists and the other churches represented in the Protestant educational system.

34. The BNEL is attempting to secure government subsidies, and although there are some dedicated people in the system, there is little doubt that it should not be subsidized. "The appearance of private secondary schools is an evident reflection of the tremendous pressures on entry into secondary school. Those who are disappointed in the official or subsidized sector may keep alive their forlorn hopes for advancement in the educational stream by paying a relatively paltry fee." William M. Rideout, Jr., David N. Wilson, and M. Crawford Young and others, Survey of Education in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Washington: American Council on Education, OverseasLiaison Committee, 1969), p. 67.

35. From interviews with members of the official school system in the interior of the Congo, June-July, 1969.

36. (République Démocratique du Congo) Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Direction des Services Pedagogiques, Informations Statistiques, 1969 (Kinshasa: Section des Statistiques de l'Education et de la Carte Scholaires, Fasc. STA 17, March, 1969), p. 17. The breakdown of the education system for 1967-68 was: Subsidized Catholic - 63.2%; Official Congregationist - .7%; Subsidized Protestant - 14.2%; Offical - 13.5%; Subsidized Kimbanguist and others - 4.8%; Non-subsidized - 3.6%. The official system included the official congregationist. (This publication hereafter will be referred to as Fasc. STA 17, March, 1969.)

37. Figures for 1959-60 are taken from BEC, Ou en est l'enseignement au Congo? op. cit., p. 16, while those for 1967-68 are from (République Démocratique du Congo) Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Direction des Services Pédagogiques, Annuaire Statistique, 1967-68 (Kinshasa: Section des statistiques de l'education et de la carte scholaire, Fasc. STA 16), p. 109. (Hereafter referred as Fasc. STA 16, 1967-68.)

38. (République Démocratique du Congo) Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Secrétariat Général, Propositions pour la mise en place d'une politique de développement controlé de l'education en République Démocratique du Congo (Mimeo: September, 1968), p. 3. (Hereafter referred to as Secretary General, September, 1968).

39. Ibid., p. 10.

40. Ibid., p. 11.

41. Tables I and II are taken from Rideout, Wilson, Young, op. cit., pp. 61 and 71, and Figure I from p. 32.

42. Eugene Staley, Planning Occupational Education and Training for Development (Stanford: SIDEC, OET -1, 1968).

43. Rideout, Wilson and Young op. cit., p. 70

44. The Diplôme de Régent is awarded by normal schools with 3 year programs and qualifies graduates for secondary-level teaching.

45. Rideout, Wilson, and Young, op. cit., p. 63.

46. Secretary General, op. cit. p. 11, and BEC, Annuaire Statisque Enseignement National Catalogue, Annee 1966-67 (Kinshasa: ICEP, March 1969) pp. 10-11.

47. Rideout, Wilson and Young, op. cit. The unwillingness of students from Lovanium to teach in the interior after having been assigned to such duty by the government was verified conclusively by Father Missine of Lovanium in a survey he conducted. Hopefully his findings will in the future be published.

48. Patrick V. Dias, Theodor Hanf, Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, William Rideout Jr., Les Universitaires Congolais: Enquête sur leurs attitudes socio-politiques (Bielefeld: Bertelman-Universitats verlag, in press).

49. Rideout, Wilson and Young, op. cit.

50. Fasc. Sta 16, 1967-68, pp. 104-108.

51. The willingness of the Balubas to migrate to schools in order to obtain an education has resulted in their being severely critized on a number of occasions. During the student demonstrations at Lovanium the Balubas were, among other things, accused of imperialism and of attempting to monopolize the country's educational institutions.

52. Guy Malengreau, "La politique coloniale de la Belgique," in Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1950).